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I proceeded to show my gratitude to the chief by offering him the red woollen drawers which I had not yet put on. He studied them carefully, and then got into them as to the manner born. They fitted him well, and their colour being red, which Indians find irresistible, convinced him of the prestige value of this little scrap of clothing. Without a word he walked away with the solemn gait of a man who has had a pot of gold revealed to him in a vision. He made a tour of the encampment in stately fashion, and when he returned to us he was followed by a train of Samatari who were all clicking their tongues and emitting little deep-throated grunts. He stopped when he reached us, just beside me.

I carried on with the good work of thawing him. The watch was still in my hand, and I showed it to him, with signs that I was willing and anxious to explain the true nature of this metallic animal. The twelve figures for the hours, I told him, with sweeping gestures eked out by a few words of Shirian, represented the fixed stars of the sky. The big hand was the sun, and the little one the moon. They followed each other through the firmament, among the stars. This explanation found the mark straight away—perhaps because it only went to confirm their own suppositions about the little animal which had been worrying them during the night.

'*Pilmoro, pilmoroksuan,*' shouted the chief, and his followers danced about, echoing him, which seemed to mean that they had identified the watch with the sun and its circular motion. '*Pilmoro, sapulite, lahallate*'—magic, big magic.

Then we were aware of some fresh surge of movement. It came mainly from the women. They had gathered for an animated discussion, which might have something to do with what Luis Antonio had said about the trousers. Indian women find white men an irresistible attraction and their menfolk, in all tribes, have one favourite tactic to prevent their being deceived: they tell their wives that these damnable white men possess such gigantic, nay monstrous, organs that they cause laceration and death. This legend is half-believed by the men themselves, partly by reason of the Europeans' actual superiority in regard to this important anatomical detail.

For once, however, it seemed that the Shirian ladies were not quite convinced. One of them could attest by the evidence of her own eyes that this dreaded enormity was a disingenuous exaggeration. But the point had not been generally confirmed, and it had started a discussion among the womenfolk. Men who had been listening to the explanation of the watch now joined in with much jeering and laughter. Enrico was obliged to yield his person to the

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general curiosity, and it was he who dispelled for ever the belief that white men were a danger in themselves, apart from their guns and other terrifying adjuncts. The women fell on him. In a frenzy of excitement they insisted on seeing everything: they might have been doctors. His trousers dropped and feminine curiosity was slowly appeased; to the accompaniment of wondering cries and deep howls from the men, Enrico had to turn about and bend backwards and forwards. One woman, whose curiosity outdid all the rest, even touched him so that she could measure the normality of the dimensions with her hand. Then they began to eye me, perhaps wondering if I might not be a giant in this respect, but fortunately nothing more happened, the conversation became general and excited, and the inspection was over. Luis Antonio and Solituan joined in the talk, their excitement tinged with a certain sly amusement.

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The children were kept very strictly some distance away from us, although the grown-ups did not find this easy, curiosity being always strongest in the young, and especially so among primitive races where the youngsters are particularly active and intelligent and enjoy a life of perfect freedom within the bosom of the tribe. The parents kept an eye on them all the time, and if they came near us they were scolded and sent off with a sound smacking. There was every likelihood that their mothers didn't want them to come under our magic influence, which might be an evil magic all too potent against the weak and defenceless little ones. We afterwards learned that this had been a very real factor in the hostility with which we and our Guayca companions had been received, though the latter should have been known to them as friends.

The fresh morning air brought our hunger back in full force, and at last Uarema succeeded in getting hold of a piece of burned meat for us: it came from a nearby hut, and heaven only knew what it was. The charred fibres of it went down our throats like splinters of glass. Then, beyond the smoke of the first row of hammocks, I made out the roof which sheltered the chief, just as he came out with a modest throng around him. He had the gun in his hand, holding it like a bow and firing imaginary arrows by pulling at an invisible string, to the accompaniment of boom-booms that were taken up and echoed by the chorus of his followers.

I asked Luis Antonio the meaning of this pantomime. He hadn't seen what was happening and he didn't take the trouble to look, since he knew all about it already: he said the gun was looked on as a kind of bow that fired arrows with an explosion.

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789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
● 831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

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[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to